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Archaeological Institute of America

EXCAVATIONS

AT

THE HERAION OF ARGOS

1892

BY

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*Archaeol. Inst.*

THE publication of these plates (made by Messrs Rhomaïdes, Frères, Athens) is distinctly of a preliminary character. It arises out of a desire to bring before the archaeological world with the least possible delay, some of the results of our excavations, which, as well from the position of the Heraion in the ancient world, as from the intrinsic value of the discoveries there made, are judged to be of primary importance. The rich harvest of material thus brought to light, extending over so many periods of Greek life, and entering into every department of archaeological science, calls for elaboration which, in anything like a final shape, will occupy the student for several years; while, on the other hand, it would hardly be right in the interest of science, to withhold such important material from archaeological students pending this final elaboration on our part.

I have therefore decided, with the consent of the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, to issue a series of plates containing some of the most interesting objects discovered, as the work of excavation progresses, accompanied by a short explanatory text; and to reserve the final publication for a future period. In this explanatory letter-press, the extent to which I shall enter into the explanation of the works found will partly depend upon their manifest importance; but I shall chiefly be guided, in this respect, by my own judgement as to the degree in which archaeologists are justified in forming a definite opinion, and by the limitations of my own power to form or to express a view with pretensions to maturity of conviction. So, for instance, the numerous finds from the earliest periods which we have made, especially in pottery and articles of the minor arts, bear immediately upon the question of Primitive, Mycenaean and Early Archaic pottery and minor arts, as well as upon the very intricate question of the early settlement of the Argolic plain and its relation to Egyptian, Phoenician and other early civilisation. All these questions have of late years been in the very fore-front of archaeological research. But the degree of prominence these questions have received is not in a direct ratio to the degree of conclusiveness which the various opinions held can claim. It seems to me probable, that the very excavations we have made and are making at the Heraion may throw considerable light upon some of the main questions concerning which archaeologists are now at issue. But the more I feel this, the less do I feel justified in expressing myself upon some of these finds, until I have satisfied myself by means of careful and prolonged study. The very important finds of pottery, moreover, require a form of illustration which it was impracticable to attempt giving in this earliest preliminary form. I have therefore omitted them for the present from these plates, though they are, in one respect, of the greatest interest.

In connexion with the whole method of dealing with this pre-historic period of Greek Archaeology, I cannot refrain from expressing here, what I have repeatedly urged with

regard to the questions of mythological study. Much as I value the work done by learned and conscientious students of pre-historic Greek mythology, especially when based upon the comparative study of mythology and ethnology, I still hold that the soundest method will be to postpone the study of the earliest periods, until the historical periods have been subjected to a careful and sober revision and completion. Thoroughness of method and scientific procedure does not necessarily consist in beginning with the *beginning of things* and then proceeding to the later stages. The "earlier" and the "beginning" in science are always the *best and most thoroughly known*, and the "later stages" are the less perfectly known; and the correct procedure is from this fixed centre to the wider circumferences. For the earliest in scientific degree is not always (I may say is rarely) identical with the earliest in historical evolution. And I maintain that in the history of Greek art, as in the history of Greek myths, there is much yet to be done in determining and in elaborating the historical periods, from the fixed centres of which we can then cautiously proceed backwards (really onwards) to the misty pre-historic periods.

The excavations were carried out by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, the funds having been provided by the Archaeological Institute of America. These funds enabled us this year to carry on extensive work on several sites. Besides the work at the Heraion, the following excavations were taken in hand: at *the theatre of Sikyon* (the work entrusted to Mr Brownson and Dr Young) the excavation of the underground passage, as well as in other parts of the *cavea* and the *skené* was completed. The excavations had been begun by the school under the direction of Prof. D'Ooge by Mr. McMurtry, were continued under Prof. Merriam by Dr Earle, and were resumed by the latter gentleman during the summer of 1891. At *Eretria* in Euboea, Prof. Poland with Messrs Brownson and Fox continued the excavations at the theatre begun last year. At *Phlioses* Messrs H. S. and C. M. Washington excavated during the spring of this year. Mr H. S. Washington had dug at Plotheia some four years ago, had taken part in our excavations of Plataea three years ago, and had successfully completed the work there during the spring of last year. At *Sparta* I began explorative diggings in the month of March of this year, the chief positive results of which was the discovery of the circular building mentioned by Pausanias (III. 12, 11). He says it was attributed to Epimenides which fact fixes its date to the beginning of the 6th century B.C. It is thus of great importance as an instance of early Greek architecture, and in that it furnishes at the same time a fixed point for the reconstruction of the topography of Sparta.

At the excavations of the Heraion I was most ably assisted by Messrs Brownson, Fox, De Cou, and Dr Newhall; while Professor Poland took charge of the work during one week. Messrs Brownson and Fox were engaged in the work during the whole period of its duration and they have throughout rendered most signal services.

In 1854 the late Mr Rhangabé<sup>1</sup>, made excavations on this site. There are there supporting walls, as well as peribolos walls, which were visible then as they are visible now. One of these supporting walls, the upper one, is of huge cyclopean blocks (see Plates II. and III.), and evidently belongs to the earliest structure; while the other walls belong to different Hellenic periods. There were no manifest traces of the work of Rhangabé, which had been concentrated on the second temple. A photograph (reproduced on plate I.) taken on the site of the second temple before we began excavating here will bear this out.

<sup>1</sup> *Ausgrabungen beim Tempel der Hera unweit Argos. Ein Brief von Prof. A. Rizo Rangabé an Prof. Ross, Halle 1855. See also Bursian, Bullettino dell' Instit. Rome 1854; II. p. XIII.*

No doubt the thirty-eight years which have intervened since the first attempted excavation, as well as the fact that the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages would carry off the stones that lay on the surface, led to the disappearance of all traces of this previous work. But on the other hand we must remember that Rhangabé was much cramped for material means in carrying on his work, and that in those days the art of excavating had not been developed to the systematic precision which has now been given it.

The site<sup>1</sup> of the temples is on a lower spur of the Mountain Euboea, where the beds of two streams, now dried up, the ancient Eleutherios and Asterion, bound it on the north-west and south-east. It is about two and a half miles from Mycenae and four and a half miles from Argos<sup>2</sup>. We began our work at first in an explorative manner, to test, and, if possible, to verify by means of excavation, the nature of the several sites which were here massed together. At the same time we had even then decided to concentrate our efforts as much as possible during this season upon the second temple. This temple was built by Eupolemos about the 90th Olympiad (420 to 416 B.C.) after the destruction of the first temple which was burnt down 423 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

We began work on Feb. 15, with 63 men and 3 carts; on the second day we continued with 97 men and 7 carts; on the third day with 117 men and 8 carts; on the fourth day with 123 men and 11 carts; on the fifth day with 127 men and 12 carts; until we rose to 180 men with from 20 to 26 carts. I am strongly of opinion that, wherever it is feasible, the employment of large gangs of men is more economical and more conducive to accurate archaeological observation, than the employment of smaller numbers of men spread over a longer period of time. The manner, for instance, in which the various archaeological stratifications, if I may so call them, present themselves in rapid and organic succession to the eye of the student, when work is carried on on a large scale, adds a quality to the mode of observation which cannot readily be supplied when work is less compressed in time. We were also exceptionally favoured by the weather. For the first month we did not lose more than one half day owing to rain; while no holiday interfered with our regular working days. It is owing to these facts, and above all to the liberal means which the Archaeological Institute put at our disposal, that we were able to accomplish so much in so short a time. Besides the excavation of the second temple, we began by digging trenches, first on the site of the upper or earliest temple, and second on a site below, and to the north of the second temple, where there seemed to be a second peribolos; and, finally, on the slope of the hill at the west and south ends of the second temple itself.

On the site of the first, or earliest, temple a broad trench was carried from end to end (east to west) of the plateau, with cross trenches extending in the one direction to the south supporting wall, in the other to the slope of the hill to the north. We soon found a smooth layer of firm earth which we called the "platform" and we followed this to its western extremity. The cross trench to the south revealed a second "platform," seemingly corresponding in dimensions and meaning to the first. Between the two, native or unworked soil was discovered at a very slight depth, so also in the north cross trench. To the south and west, beyond the lines of these "platforms" was found a rough paving of polygonal stones. We also came upon a continuous thick layer of charred wood, an interesting material confirmation of the burning of this temple<sup>4</sup>; which also may prove (as

<sup>1</sup> Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, II. p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, VIII. 868, makes it ten stadia from Mycenae and forty stadia from Argos. Pausanias, II. 17. 1, makes it fifteen stadia from Mycenae.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, II. 17. 7; Thucydides, IV. 133.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. I.c.; Pausanias, I.c.

in the case of the Heraion of Olympia) that such early structures were to a great extent built of wood. We also here came upon a large quantity (three basketfuls) of pottery, unpainted and for the most part thick and heavy, belonging to the Primitive period, molten iron, plates and rods of bronze, glass beads, smaller bone beads, a bronze goat, &c. These objects were found in a sort of 'pocket' mingled with burnt earth and pieces of charred wood.

On the lower south-western plateau we excavated the so-called cross-cisterns, and, immediately adjoining them, found what may prove to be early Greek baths; while, at the other extremity of this terrace, we examined and laid bare the walls which proved to belong to an interesting Greek edifice. This again joined on, and may have formed part of a stoa which bounded one side of this large terrace; and we here found a number of early Greek specimens of pottery, a few interesting terra-cottas, and objects in bronze and iron. This wall at the southern extremity of the *stoa* is of the finest masonry on the whole site. In connexion with these cisterns and baths on the terrace, we examined and excavated some curious rock-cut structures of the same nature outside the temple precincts to the south-west, and at some 200 yards below the lower terrace, on the banks of the river. At first we thought they might be early rock-cut graves; but they appeared to be more probably connected with baths or cisterns, perhaps to be in some way referred to the passage in Pausanias (II. 17, 1) which mentions the ablutions performed here: *χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς καθάρσια αἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐς τὰς ἀπορρήτους*. I may at once also state here that towards the close of the excavation, during the last days of March, and the beginning of April, Messrs Brownson and Fox also examined and excavated what proved to be interesting structures of the aqueduct. On this lower bank of the river, cut in the solid rock, there was a square perpendicular hole, corresponding to a "man hole" with notches cut in the side for the purposes of descent and ascent. Upon digging down this hole they found that it led into channels about five feet high, cut into the rock in different directions. One of these channels ran under the river-bed, and the other they followed for more than thirty metres through the rock inland in the direction of Argos, an operation which corresponded very much to miners' work.

On the slope of the west end of the second temple we made two deep cuttings one below the other, which practically meant cutting away the whole side of the hill here to a depth of between 30 and 40 feet (see Pl. I.). At a depth of between 10 and 15 feet below the top surface of the second temple at this west end, we came upon a curious layer of black earth, which rose higher as we proceeded towards the Temple; but was to be found with great regularity. This peculiar stratum consisted of decayed organic matter with masses of animal bones and many fragments of pottery, vases and terra cottas, bronzes, and numerous articles in other material. It is chiefly in this black layer that the large number of interesting articles was found, which certainly give in themselves great value to these excavations. To give an idea of the extent of this yield, I will but enumerate a list of some of the selected articles which were transmitted to the Museum at Athens; the greater numerical proportion remaining at Argos itself. It is a rough list I made with the Ephor of Excavations (M. Kastromenos) for purposes of control before sending the objects to Athens.

*"Small objects found at the Heraion."*

230 bronze rings.

1 ear-ring.

26 lead and silver rings.

1 bronze statuette of a cow.

1 bronze swan's head.

1 bronze statuette without a base.

1 bronze goat from upper temple.

1 large bronze horse on base.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1 small bronze horse on base.                      | 1 gilded bronze pin.   |
| 1 small sheep on base.                             | 7 ivory incuse ornamented seals.   |
| 1 bronze cup with sphinx.                          | 2 large seals.   |
| 1 bronze male statuette.                           | 1 ivory cow resting on plaque with archaic relief.                       |
| 1 bronze foot of vase.                             | Fragments of gold leaf.  |
| 1 bronze rim of large vase, figured.               | 1 gold leaf.   |
| 3 bronze seals.                                    | 1 perforated gold rosette.   |
| 1 small bronze cockatrice.                         | 1 gold Mycene rosette.   |
| 4 bronze fibulae.                                  | 2 gold and silver rings.   |
| 1 bronze peacock.                                  | 1 plain gold ring.   |
| 2 pieces of bronze with zigzag pattern.            | 10 scaraboids.   |
| 4 bronze handles.                                  | 22 copper and silver coins.  |
| 16 bronze pins with ornamented heads.              | 1 terra-cotta ditto.   |
| 2 mirror handles.                                  | 1 stone hammer, split.   |
| 1 bronze patera.                                   | 4 stone seals.   |
| 4 fragments of larger patera.                      | 1 small porphyry lion with hieroglyphics.                                |
| 2 bronze chisels.                                  | 1 scaraboid bead.  |
| 4 terra-cotta plaques with inscriptions.           | 12 glass and porcelain beads.  |
| 6 pieces of large jar with reliefs.                | 32 amber beads from old temple and small beads.                          |
| 5 terra-cotta plaques with archaic incuse figures. | 7 amber or glass beads and 13 triangular beads from<br>the lower temple. |
| 60 selected terra-cotta idols.                     | 2 bone needles.  |
| 60 fragments of earliest idols.                    | 1 porcelain monkey.  |
| 21 terra-cotta images of animals.                  | 1 porcelain cat.   |
| 28 stone heads of hard stone.                      | 1 Egyptian image.  |
| 1 of bone, 1 crystal, 1 terra-cotta and 1 ivory.   | 3 boxes of small beads.  |
| 1 gold and silver spiral.                          | 3 large baskets of fragments of early vases.                             |
| 1 gold and silver ornament.                        |  |

All these objects coming from this black layer are distinctly archaic in character. Nothing has there been found that I could venture to ascribe even to a date as late as the beginning of the 5th century B.C.; while many point to the remotest antiquity. How these objects came to be placed there is a question which I should not venture to answer definitely. But at present it seems to me most probable, that this site, below the supporting wall of the earliest temple, may at one time have contained an altar and that this black layer is the refuse from the sacrifices, or that this refuse was thrown down over the supporting wall in the earliest periods from the older temple; or, finally, that the accumulated *débris* was used as, what architects call, dry-rubbish, in order to fill up the ground before the building of the second temple. At all events I venture to say that we have here produced material which may be as interesting and as important for the history of early Greek civilisation, art and handicraft, as the similar discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns. The terra-cotta plaques alone seem to me of the greatest importance and are almost unique in character; the Egyptian or Phoenician objects may perhaps throw some light on the earliest relations of the inhabitants of the Argive plain to the early nations beyond the sea; the numerous terra-cotta images will doubtless throw light upon the earliest representations of the Goddess Hera, and upon the rites and ceremonies connected with her worship; while the vases, chiefly of Primitive Mycenaean, Geometrical, and Proto-Corinthian pattern, will form a valuable addition to our knowledge of early ornamental Ceramic art, the study of which is now promising to yield such a rich harvest.

On the platform, which contained the second temple itself, built by Eupolemos, and for which Polykleitos made the gold and ivory statue of Hera, we came upon the foundation walls, standing in continuous solidity at a depth of between 4 and 5 feet below the surface of the earth, at a considerable depth below the two trenches which Rhangabé had originally



dug. We followed these walls up, laid them bare and dug to an average depth of 5 to 6 feet both in the interior and the exterior of the temple on all sides, so that, at the present moment, these foundation walls of the temple stand quite clear and clean to be studied by architects and archaeologists (see Pl. II.). The plans of the temple, as thus laid bare are at this moment being completed by Messrs Brownson and Fox, and will be published at a later date. The measurements show the temple, according to its foundations, to have been 39.60 metres long by 20 metres wide. There is nothing more than the foundations standing. The stylobate and all the superstructure have been carried off. There is no doubt that the temple was used as a quarry by the mediaeval builders in the neighbourhood. They seem to have cut into the south side, and to have dragged the stones out of even the interior of the foundations, leaving a few that they had begun to cut in two in order more readily to transport them. The fate of the temple, and the methods of pillaging it, seem to have been very similar to those of the so-called Temple of Zeus at Giriti where the stones were used for the building of the Molo. Still, I believe that there are a sufficient number of fragments of drums of columns, capitals, cornices and architectural ornaments remaining, to make a restoration of the temple in the future possible. Of the architectural ornaments, especially the richly carved *sima*, fragments have been found which bear testimony to the exquisite workmanship of the architectural decorations of this temple (see Pl. VIII.). And they are especially interesting when compared both for the similarity and the difference of the relation they hold to the ornaments on the *tholos* at Epidauros, which is ascribed to Polykleitos. It has been held by Kavvadias, supported by Dörpfeld, that this *tholos* at Epidauros was not built by the elder Polykleitos but by his younger namesake in the 4th century B.C. Now the *sima* which we have found at the Heraion corresponds in its general form, in the manner in which the lions' heads are attached, to the *sima* of the *tholos* of Epidauros; but the workmanship and style of the relief-ornamentation, and especially of the lions' heads themselves, confirm, I am inclined to say beyond a doubt, the supposition, well grounded by other evidence, that the Epidaurean building is two generations later than the building erected in the time of the sculptor Polykleitos. The ornamentation of the *sima* of the Heraion corresponds in workmanship more to the exquisite low relief in the decoration of the Erechtheum at Athens.

In spite of the depredations to which I have referred, we were fortunate enough to find a large number of the works of sculptured marble in a more or less fragmentary condition. Innumerable fragments of hands, feet, arms and legs, as well as pieces of drapery evidently belong to the metopes which were in high relief, while some larger fragments in the round seem to point to the presence of pedimental groups. It appears to me that the passage in Pausanias (II. 17, 3) must be interpreted as referring to pediments as well as metopes. The passage runs thus: *ὅποσα δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς κίονας ἐστὶν εἰργασμένα, τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν Διὸς γένεσιν καὶ θεῶν καὶ Γιγάντων μάχην ἔχει, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν πρὸς Τροίαν πόλεμον καὶ Ἰλίου τὴν ἄλωσιν.*

The expression *ὑπὲρ τοὺς κίονας* (above the pillars), is a curious and indefinite one. It seems at first sight to point merely to the decoration in the metopes, and to exclude sculptured pediments. For the usual phrase for pedimental sculpture would mention these expressly. So with regard to the Parthenon Pausanias says (I. 24, 5) *ὅποσα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἀετοῖς κείται κ.τ.λ.* But it appears to me that the phrase "above the pillars" is a short form of expression to include both pediments and metopes. We find that in this passage, referring to the Heraion, there is a distinct division between the front and back; and in each of these again between two distinct groups of subjects. The *τὰ μὲν*

is opposed to the τὰ δέ, which corresponds to the subdivision as indicated by τὰ δὲ δπισθεν in the passage referring to the Parthenon<sup>1</sup>. Within this broad twofold division in the front and back sculpture of the Heraion, we have in each two definite subjects. In the one the Birth of Zeus as well as the Gigantomachia; in the other the Departure for Troy as well as the Ilioupersis. Now the nature of these subjects will lead us to hold that one of each is a pedimental group, the other distributed among metopes. The Birth of Zeus is distinctly a pedimental subject and would naturally have filled the eastern pediment of this temple; while the Gigantomachia (which most probably also formed part of the scenes in the metopes of the Parthenon) is a subject natural to metopes. In the western pediment we should naturally find the scene of the Departure for Troy, with Agamemnon in the presence of Hera and the other divinities, most appropriately represented on this spot where, according to tradition (*Dict. Crit. Bell. Troj.* i. 16), Agamemnon offered sacrifice before leaving for Troy. In the form of grouping, we should have an analogy to the eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the departing heroes with their chariots grouped on either side of the presiding divinities. Scenes from the Destruction of Troy, moreover, were introduced into the metopes of the Parthenon. I would thus distribute the scenes as follows: In the eastern pediment, the Birth of Zeus; in the western pediment, the Departure for Troy; in the metopes on the east side, the Gigantomachia, in those on the west, the Destruction of Troy.

Our finds moreover bear out this view. There are fragments of sculpture too large for metopes, which probably came from pedimental groups; while an arm resting upon a cushion which we have found can hardly be placed anywhere but in the angle of a pediment, and reminds us of the local nymphs resting upon cushions from the western pediment of the Olympian temple. From the number of fragments of limbs &c. evidently belonging to metopes, it also appears to me probable that the metopes extended round all four sides of the temple. And it would then be probable that Pausanias only mentioned the subjects in the front and back metopes; while on the sides, scenes like the Amazonomachia and Centauromachia were represented. This would make the analogy to the best known specimens of ancient temples still more complete.

Fortunately for us we were also able to discover two actual metopes giving us the full height with the figures in relief attached to them. The figures on the one are sorely mutilated, but the male nude warrior represented on the other (Pl. VII.), as far as the torso is concerned, is in most perfect preservation, all the detail work delicate and firm in character being manifest in its freshly preserved surface.

This metope, together with the other fragments, will, I believe, make it possible for us to study accurately the style and character of Polykleitan art. For there can be no doubt that the sculptured decorations of the Heraion stand in the same relation to Polykleitos as the architectural sculpture of the Parthenon stand to Pheidias. And, in spite of what has recently been urged by some archaeologists, I venture to maintain that there can be no doubt as to the immediate connexion between the art that is manifested in the sculptures of the Parthenon and of the Heraion, and the leading artists of that period, Pheidias and Polykleitos. In the Parthenon and in the Heraion Pheidias and Polykleitos made the cultus statue, the great central treasures of art and of the sanctuary. Both were the actual leading spirits of the sculpture of the period and the district, and had numerous assistants under them. It would be emphatically paradoxical to assume that the sculptured decorations of these two temples were not executed under their direction. We were still

<sup>1</sup> i. 27. 5. Ἐς δὲ τὸν ναὸν δν Παρθενῶνα, ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς τοῦτον ἐσιούσιν ὅποσα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἀετοῖς κείται, πάντα ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχει γένεσιν, τὰ δὲ δπισθεν ἢ Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἐστὶν ἔρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς.

more fortunate in discovering two well preserved heads about two-thirds life size, one of which certainly belonged to the metopes (Pl. VII.). While, finally, immediately in front of the west end of the Temple we had the good fortune of finding the marble head of "Hera" (Plts. IV. and V.). This head appears to me, beyond a doubt, to be the work of the fifth century B.C., and, as I shall have occasion to show of Polykleitan character. As a fifth century head, in comparatively so excellent a state of preservation, I venture to think that it is of unique value, and we might congratulate ourselves upon the result of this year's excavations, if we had only found this one treasure of Greek Art.

#### PLATE I.

As I intend to elaborate the architectural aspect of the excavations with Messrs Brownson and Fox, I will merely give a summary explanation of the plates here given. Those on Plate I. were taken from photographs made by Mr Fox; the others are from photographs by Messrs Rhomaïdes, Frères, of Athens.

*View of site of the second temple before the excavations.* The photograph was taken from the north-west corner of the terrace looking south-east.

*View of the excavations at west end of the second temple during the third week.* Taken from a point to the north-west of the terrace. Workmen are massed on the top of the terrace, those to our left of the centre standing on the west foundation wall of the temple. The "black layer" referred to above ran up towards the temple beginning about where the two middle casts are standing below. Where the workmen stand lowest in a trench to our right a broad cutting was subsequently carried on to join the large cutting in the centre; while this large cutting in its turn was carried up to the foundation walls of the temple.

#### PLATE II.

*View of the second temple after completion of the work for this season.* The photograph was taken from the south-east corner, about where the tree stood in the photograph (Pl. I.) taken before excavating, looking to the north-west. It shows the foundation walls of the temple which were covered on their top with a layer of earth between four and five feet in depth. On the wall at the west end a small mound has been left standing to show the original height of the earth.

#### PLATE III.

*View of the excavations of the second temple, from the same point as Pl. II., towards the close of excavation.* It contains workmen and staff and shows the stoa wall at the north side of the temple. Above this the cyclopean wall supports the platform upon which stood the first or earliest temple.

#### PLATES IV. AND V.

*Head of "Hera."* Parian marble<sup>1</sup>. Dimensions (full life size) in metres: Height of head (from point of chin to a line extended horizontally from top of head), .223; Breadth (of forehead above eyes and between the two planes extended straight forward from surface

<sup>1</sup> Mr H. S. Washington, whom I consider an authority in petrological matters, assures me that this head is of Parian marble.

of each ear), 14; Length of line along margin of hair from ear to middle of forehead, 15. Holes drilled into the lobe of each ear clearly show that earrings of bronze (probably gilt) were affixed to the head.

The head was found at the west end of the temple, *immediately* in front of the west foundation wall, at a slight distance to the north of the centre of the west front, about two feet below the top soil. There were fragments of marble sculpture probably from metopes found near it; but none that seem to come from the statue to which the head belonged. Black earth in which one side of the head was imbedded contained humidity and acids which account for the corrosion of the right side of head, while the other side (shown in our profile view, Pl. V.) has the surface almost intact.

In studying the style and workmanship, and hence the period to which it belongs, we must first consider the general composition of the statue in so far as it is indicated by the position of the head and neck as placed upon the statue of which it formed a part.

The head was evidently placed straight between the shoulders, at right angles to the chest. There is no trace in the neck of a turn to the right or left, nor of a droop downwards or a tilting upwards. This absolute straightness of position of the head, and hence of the look of the eyes, gives to a statue a solemnity, simplicity and severity which in the archaic statues, with the imperfect and conventional modelling of the details, contributes to the impression of hardness and lifelessness characterizing these early works. In our work it could only give simplicity, dignity and solemnity. In the composition of the head itself there is a symmetry maintained in either half, a perfect balancing of either side. This severe dichotomy is accentuated in the peculiar treatment of the two curls above the central parting, a peculiarity to which I shall have to return. From this point downwards the two sides of the face are evenly balanced, without suggesting a purely mechanical reproduction, as in some of the archaic works.

If not mechanical, there is a sense of what might be called mathematical regularity in the outlining, articulation, and modelling of the face. This impression is, no doubt, based, in the first place, upon the regularity of the outlining of the face itself as bounded by the hair. The oval contour represents an almost regular ellipse with the centre a little above the tip of the nose and the vertices at the chin and the central parting of the hair. From either side of this central parting, round by the temples to the back of the cheek-bone, the face is blocked out in a firm curved line almost geometrical in its character, and this curve is then continued along the lower line of the cheek-bone to the chin. The face is thus distinctly circumscribed from the line of hair downward by a firm and regular outline.

On either side of the central line of curls at the parting, there are six strings of wavy hair with two smaller strings interspersed higher up; and the mass of the back of the neck has three broad strings of hair on either side. The same regularity prevails in the distribution of the waves of hair on either side of the central parting on the top of the head above the diadem. It is maintained in the back, though here there is greater irregularity. Still this symmetry of arrangement is removed from hardness, by the fact of the corresponding waves of hair not being absolutely identical in their whole course, and especially by the delicate indication of texture in the modelling of each one of these waves. There are various smaller ridges introduced and roughnesses left on the surface, which prevent the whole from reflecting the light in a hard polished or metallic surface. The light is here absorbed, here reflected, the whole producing a varied play of light and shade which gives life to the whole surface. In contradistinction to archaistic work the severity and regularity of treatment is not hard; but the regularity lends to the variety of wavy lines a repose which gives to this

style of treatment something of the grandiose as opposed to the petty. The more this hair is looked at from a distance, the more life and beauty of texture does it suggest, while retaining a harmony and regularity of general design, and adding restfulness to the suggestion of flow and ripple in the movement of line. I hardly know of any instances of Greek art that can be compared with it, excepting the best types of Greek fifth century work, as in what remains of the Parthenon and the hair in the Karyatides of the Erechtheum—though these, more decorative works of sculpture, are less highly finished.

In the same way the regularity which makes for hardness is counteracted in the detail modelling of the face. In the profile view the absolutely straight and continuous line from forehead to nose is varied in that the nose projects at a slightly obtuse angle and thus throws the lower part of the face forward. But an element of softness is chiefly added in the delicate modelling (always, however, remaining simple and broad in character) of the cheeks, chin, mouth and eyes. The modelling of the cheek, especially in the region about the mouth, nostrils and eye, is of a delicacy which, while adding to the general softness of the face, is not noticeable in itself, unless examined very closely and minutely, and does not detract from the general breadth of character in the treatment of the head as a whole. The chin holds a happy mean between the heavy and the weakly pointed; while the curve from the lower lip downwards to the point of the chin is one of peculiar delicacy. The mouth with the full lower lip is a very characteristic feature of the head. The lips are clearly arched and still have nothing of the hardness of arching which the lips of the works immediately preceding the great period have, still less are they set in the so-called 'archaic smile.' The hardness is chiefly counteracted in that the lips are not compressed, so as to close the mouth firmly, but are slightly parted—a fact which no doubt adds to the milder expression of the whole countenance. The sculptor has thus solved a difficult problem. A mouth clearly opened is a blemish in a work of sculpture; it represents a cavity with dark shadows. On the other hand the closed mouth gives a lifeless or hard expression to the face. In this head the sculptor has parted the lips, without giving us the impression of an open mouth. Not only in the mouth, but also in the delicate treatment of the nostrils and, more especially, in the treatment of the eye is this softness of expression combined with the boldness and breadth of style. The eyelids are worked firmly and are undercut, so that they present a clear sharp edge, which appears to me to point to a style influenced by bronze technique (though the treatment of the hair is completely adapted to marble); and they thus strengthen the contrast to the smooth working of the eye-ball, of which the curve slants somewhat inwards. The eye has no doubt been protected from corrosion by the colour which was applied. The result is, that the light striking the eye-ball seems concentrated there, and thus produces a life and brilliancy far removed from the more sentimental character of the treatment of the eye common in the heads of the fourth century which conveys the idea which the Greek writers on such subjects expressed by the word τὸ ὑγρόν. The depression below the lower lid is gradual and delicate; but not so marked as in the head of Aphrodite of the fourth century to which it gives a characteristic expression. The whole treatment of the eye retains a severity which is free from lifelessness, and gives a vividness which is not tied to a purely individual expression or mood. Mouth and eye together remind us of the advance in art attributed by the ancients to the painter Polygnotos, whose influence upon the growth of freedom in sculpture as well as painting, it appears to me, has not been sufficiently recognised. Pliny says of him<sup>1</sup> *siquidem instituit os adaperire,...vultum ab antiquo rigore variare.* Brunn<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> N. H. xxxv. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesch. d. Griech. Künstler*, II. p. 29.

explains the *adaperire* by *ex parte aperire*, which exactly conveys the treatment of the mouth in this head of Hera.

In all its characteristics this head thus manifests that it is neither archaic, nor transitional, nor of the fourth century B.C., nor archaistic or belonging to the later renaissance of earlier Greek types; but it is clearly the work of an artist living in the fifth century B.C.

The next question is the particular divinity represented. I have until now called it Hera. But of course we must be aware that this attribution is not beyond all doubt. It might be maintained that the head is that of Athene or even of Aphrodite. But I do not think this likely. It first appears to me to be a head of Hera because of the diadem or *στέφανος* which is the characteristic badge of Hera. It is true that this is not the broad, ornamented diadem which Hera has on the coins of Argos<sup>1</sup>. She is not represented as the matron. But we must remember that Hera in the judgement of Paris vied with Aphrodite and Athene, and that, especially at Argos, in the festival of the *ιερός γάμος*, she is conceived of as the bride of Zeus, the marriage festival with whom is the central point in the festival. The place in which the head was found, would, furthermore, be an *à priori* reason for our attribution. While, finally, the severity of conception to which reference has already been made modifies the youthfulness in a direction not favourable to its interpretation as Aphrodite or even Athene. This view is still more confirmed when we compare the head with the best known types of Hera.

Among these this head has the greatest resemblance to the so-called Hera Farnese<sup>2</sup> at Naples on the one hand, and the well-known Hera Ludovisi<sup>3</sup> on the other. With the Hera Farnese the Argos head has in general the greatest resemblance. But the Farnese head is more mechanical in technique, and harder in modelling. With our Argos head before us, we are led to believe that the Farnese head is a copy of an original from the fifth century B.C., made in Graeco-Roman times. As a copy it still manifests the bronze and toreutic technique which prevailed in the original. And this is especially to be noticed when we compare the treatment of hair with that of the Argos head; for the surface of each wavy string is smoother, and below each wave of hair is more undercut and separated sharply from the other. We also find that, though it is severer in expression, the copyist of the Farnese head has not retained the smooth, broad and simple treatment of the forehead, but has introduced a slight elevation, which in later times becomes still more exaggerated. There is also dissimilarity in the outlines of the face. The marked oval of which I have spoken is not to be noticed in the Farnese head, where the chin has become proportionately sharper, owing to the fact that the broadest section of the ellipse is in our head in the middle section (the line drawn horizontally slightly above the tip of the nose), while in the Farnese head the broadest section is higher up, on the line through the two cheekbones.

Besides the general similarity of the two, and the more youthful character that they have in common, there are very marked points of agreement in the detail work of the two heads. The *στέφανος* is in both of the same narrow kind; the angle of the nose and forehead is similar, especially when the Farnese head is not tilted so far forward; the eyelids are worked in the same way, though the angle of the eye is different. But above all the characteristic treatment of the mouth is to be found also in the Farnese Hera. The

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, II. pp. 101 seq. *Münstafel* II. and III.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, *Gr. Kunstmyth.*, Atlas Pl. IX. Nos. 1 and 2; vol. II. pp. 71 seq., where all previous literature is mentioned. Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpt. Grecque*, Paris, 1892; I. p. 513.

<sup>3</sup> Overbeck, *ibid.*, Atlas Pl. IX. Nos. 7 and 8; vol. II. pp. 88 seq.



lips are slightly parted; but the copyist worked the cavity deeper and did not leave the marble visible, which, in the Argos head avoids the dark shadow and counteracts the impression of openness. The full lower lip with the marked curve between it and the chin is identical in both. The Hera Farnese has been considered by Brunn and most archaeologists to render the type of the Hera of Argos by Polykleitos.

In the colossal Ludovisi Hera the broader στέφανος and the two curls at either side of the head add a different general impression. But I venture to believe that the Ludovisi head is a still later modification of an original prototype which has inspired the artist of all these three heads. In mouth and eyes and nose-line there are also similarities; but the face is somewhat shorter and is also broadest in the line across the cheek-bone.

The fifth century prototype seems completely lost in the typical fourth century types of Hera of which I consider the so-called Hera Pentini<sup>1</sup> in the Vatican the most characteristic. This head, which has a large halo-shaped diadem, manifests in composition and execution more individuality and sentiment. It is turned slightly to one side, the eyes are large and round, there is a smiling expression from which the others are far removed. It appears to me to contain characteristics of the head of Niobe and, especially in the hair, of the Demeter of Cnidus. If I were pressed for a definite attribution I should say that it partakes more of the character of Scopaeic art than of any other. It certainly serves well to indicate by contrast the fifth century characteristics of our Argos head.

If now we turn to the question to what artist and school this head belongs, the name of Polykleitos and the Polykleitan school at once necessarily suggest themselves. The date of the work and its provenience would, without any other indications, make us attribute it to the Argive school under the immediate influence of Polykleitos. For it is, to say the least, very improbable that in the fifth century such a statue of Hera would be made for the Heraion without coming under the direct influence of Polykleitos who established the ideal of this goddess in this very temple by what was one of the most famous works of art in antiquity. The severity and prevalence of symmetry in the head, of which I have spoken, are characteristics which mark Polykleitan character; while the comparative youthfulness and dignity, kept from overpowering grandeur by a certain grace, could not be expressed better than in the terms with which Quintilian<sup>2</sup> criticises the art of Polykleitos: *nam ut humanae formae decorem addiderit supra verum, ita non explevisse decorum auctoritatem videtur; quin aetatem quoque graviorem dicitur refugisse nihil ausus ultra leves genas.* The head moreover to which it bears the greatest resemblance, the Hera Farnese, has been considered as illustrative of the Polykleitan Hera.

There is one apparently minute point, which seems to me of considerable importance as bearing upon this question. I have for some years been collecting the Polykleitan statues and heads which are dispersed throughout the European museums<sup>3</sup>. One peculiar feature has always repeated itself in all the heads of athletes, almost taking the form of the artist's seal or trade mark: it is a peculiar bracket-shaped curl, quite symmetrical, at the beginning of the parting of the hair, on the middle of the forehead. In this female head, we have, besides the symmetrical parting of the waves of hair, the two curious short ridges of curl on either side of the parting, a peculiarity which I have never noticed

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Gr. Km. Atlas IX.* No. 18; vol. II. Pl. XCVII.; *Monum. Inedit. dell' Inst. Roma*, vol. II. Pl. LII.

<sup>2</sup> *Q. Inst. Orat.* XII. 10. 7.

<sup>3</sup> A number of the Doryphoros statues have been collected by Michaelis, *Mon. dell' Inst. Roma*, vol. I. (1879) Pl. L., *Annali*, tav. d'agg. A and B; Collignon, *ibid.* Pl. XII. pp. 489 seq.

before, and which almost looks as if the mannerism in the male heads, had found this particular equivalent in a female head.

As to the question how the statue stood, I was at first inclined to believe that it must have stood alone on its base, probably immediately at the west end of the temple. For the beautiful delicate finish of the surface made me doubt of its being a pedimental figure. But since the metope was found (Pl. VI.) in which the surface is so well preserved, the careful finish and elaboration of the surface in this piece of architectural sculpture makes me consider it possible, that this Hera stood in the pediment under which it was found, and represented the goddess standing immediately beside the central figure or figures in the scene of the departure of Agamemnon and the Homeric heroes for Troy. The dimensions would suit the pediments of a temple with the measurements of the Heraion.

To sum up; the head of Hera is a work of the fifth century B.C. Until it can satisfactorily be proved not to be so, we have reason to consider it a representative of the Argive school of art of the second half of the fifth century and, as such, to hold some relation to the work of Polykleitos who established the ideal type of Hera in this temple.

#### PLATE VI.

*Metope from the second temple.* Fine-grained marble<sup>1</sup>. Dimensions: Height .50. Greatest width, from end of left leg to right side of body .27. Width of waist .16. Width across shoulders, including stump of arms .22.

This fragment of a metope, of which the surface is in excellent preservation, represents the torso of a nude warrior advancing to the left in violent charging attitude; the right arm which is upraised, no doubt held some weapon with which he was striking an opponent who lay at his feet, and whose hand is still to be seen pressing against the right side of his victorious enemy. The work is in high relief, the head and legs are now missing, having been completely undercut. The flat background of the relief is visible on our plate above his left shoulder. The action of this warrior is one which occurs frequently on metopes and friezes representing the famous mythical battle-scenes, as in the metopes of the Parthenon, the metopes and frieze of the Theseion, the frieze of the temple of Nike Apteros, of the temple of Apollo at Phigaleia, the Mausoleum, &c., and in the statue of the advancing tyrannicide in the Naples Museum. The vigorous action is expressed as fully in this work as in any of the instances quoted. But I know of no metopes in which the detail work in the modelling of the surface is so careful and accurate. Not only in the wonderful articulation of the whole torso, and in the delicate modelling of the muscles covering the ribs, in which we have the "dryness" reminding us of the school of Aegina without any of the archaic "hardness"; but in such details as the indication of the gland (?) in the inguinal region, and the careful modelling of the hand, in which the thumb, the nails and the small wrinkles, are reproduced in an almost minute manner—in all this we have an instance of a new school of art. It seems to show a continuation of Peloponnesian traditions, of the *duriora et Tuscanicis proxima* rendering of the human figure in transitional works; while, at the same time, there is a knowledge and power of accurate expression in the treatment of details, which together form a striking combination.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Washington considers this marble of finer grain than that of the head. It may be Parian but he thinks it Pentelico. He regrets not having had more time to study it.

As the metope was found in the interior of the temple, curiously enough at a depth of three feet below the foundation wall, and as it corresponds to other fragments of metopes found on this site, there can be no doubt that it was one of the metopes of this temple, and as such, as I have already said, it must be ascribed to the Argive school under Polykleitan influence.

The preconceived notions which have been current concerning Polykleitan art, especially as regards a certain monotony and a preponderance of the theoretical, academical element, have been justified by passages from Pliny (quoting Varro)<sup>1</sup> and Quintilian<sup>2</sup>, and by the reproductions of the Doryphoros and the Amazon. But there is no extant *original Greek* statue showing the detail modelling of that artist and school. We must, with these works from the Heraion before us, reconsider the current opinions as to this detail modelling; while still admitting the preponderance of theoretical sobriety in the choice of subjects and in the general composition of the works of Polykleitan art.

We then realise more fully than before the high position as an artist which he held in the ancient world. Ancient authors always mention him together with the first four artists of Greece; by some he is even placed at the head. Cicero<sup>3</sup> considers his work to be finer than that of Myron and almost to attain perfection. Strabo<sup>4</sup> in speaking of the Polykleitan works in this very temple of Hera, maintains that he surpassed Pheidias; and Pliny<sup>5</sup> says that he perfected toreutic art which Pheidias opened out. But it is instructive to note that the passage in Pliny refers more to bronze and toreutic work; this points to the high execution in detail modelling which this art demands; both Pheidias and Polykleitos trained their hands in the goldsmith's work which demands the most accurate skill. He is thus the modeller *par excellence*, and, while he is called *plastēs*, Pheidias is called *gluphōs*<sup>6</sup>. This quality of his points more to the excellence of execution than to the grandeur of spiritual conception, and it is in this sense, in *τέχνη*, that Strabo reports him as having surpassed Pheidias. He is thus generally classed with the great realists of the highest period, Myron and Lysippos<sup>7</sup>; and this realism, or rather naturalism, evidently consisted chiefly in the faithful rendering of each detail in modelling, and in the *careful* finish of the surface. Quintilian<sup>8</sup> praises in the first instance his *diligentia* in which he surpassed others. It is especially in the torso of the human figure that opportunity is given for such careful modelling, and we are thus not astonished to find the Auctor ad Herennium<sup>9</sup> praising in him the treatment of the chest, while Myron is praised for the head, and Praxiteles for the arms. But the most instructive passages, as showing the high finish which Polykleitos put into his modelling, are separate passages in Plutarch<sup>10</sup>, in which Polykleitos himself is reported to say, that after the "blocking out" and broader modelling, the most difficult

<sup>1</sup> N. H. xxxiv. 56 (Overbeck S. Q. 967).

<sup>2</sup> Inst. Orat. xii. 10. 7 (S. Q. 968).

<sup>3</sup> Brut. 18. 70 (S. Q. 969) *pulchriora et jam plane perfecta*.

<sup>4</sup> viii. p. 372 (S. Q. 983) καὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον εἶναι κοινὸν ἰερὸν τὸ πρὸς ταῖς Μυκήναις ἀμφοῖν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ Πολυκλείτου ξόανα τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ κάλλιστα τῶν πάντων, πολυτελεῖα δὲ καὶ μεγέθει τῶν Φειδίου λειπόμενα.

<sup>5</sup> l. c.

<sup>6</sup> Dion. Halic. de Dinarcho 7 (S. Q. 787); Aristotle, Eth. Nikom. vi. 7 (S. Q. 786) praises the σοφία of Pheidias as λιθουργός, of Polykleitos as ἀνδριαντοποιός.

<sup>7</sup> Cic. de Orat. iii. 7. 26 (S. Q. 602); Vitruv. iii. praefat. 2 (S. Q. 609) and i. 1. 13 (S. Q. 610).

<sup>8</sup> l. c.

<sup>9</sup> iv. 6 (S. Q. 604).

<sup>10</sup> Plutarch de Profectib. in virt. 17 (S. Q. 970) ἀλλ' οἱ γε προκόπτοντες...οὐδὲν εἰκὴ προσίεται τῶν γινόμενων, ἀλλ' οἷον ἀπὸ στάθμης τοῦ λόγου προσάγουσι καὶ προσαρμόττουσιν ἕκαστον. ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸν Πολυκλείτον οὐ μὲν λέγειν, ὥς ἐστι χαλεπώτατον αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον, οἷς ἂν εἰς ὄψιν οὐ πηλὸς ἀφίκηται. Quaesit. conviv. ii. 3. 2 (S. Q. 971) καὶ γὰρ αἱ τέχναι πρῶτον ἀτύπωτα καὶ ἀμορφα πλάττουσιν, εἰτα ὕστερον ἕκαστα τοῖς εἰδεῖν διαβροῦσιν. ἢ Πολυκλείτος ὁ πλάστης εἶπε, χαλεπώτατον εἶναι τὸ ἔργον, ὅταν ἐν ὄψιν οὐ πηλὸς γένηται.

phase of the modeller's work is reached when "in the clay he comes down to the indication of the nails." The nails here stand generally for the smallest detail, and the ancient artist here says, what other artists have often said: that the last finishing touches are most important and difficult.

All these points in regard to the high finish of Polykleitan works of sculpture are fully illustrated by this torso from the metope of the Heraion. I do not mean to press too hard the fact that the actual nail is mentioned; but, as it is meant to convey the idea of high finish, so here in the modelling of the hand, with the thumb and its nail, as in the whole nude body, this conscientious and most painstaking work is strikingly manifested. And thus in the fortunate preservation of the surface of this metope, we have one of the most important finds of our excavations—a work which must hereafter form a point of departure for the study of the Argive Art of this period.

#### PLATE VII.

*Two lions' heads, fragment of sima, and two heads with helmets.* Marble<sup>1</sup>. Dimensions of the smaller lion's head on our left: width across from ear to ear .21, height .228; those of the larger one: width from ear to ear .25, depth, from end of nose to surface from which the hair springs, .31. These lions' heads with open mouths were affixed to the *sima*. On the right hand of the fragment of *sima* on our plate is an outline of the head with a few fragments of the mane on the top, which shows where and how these heads were affixed. The larger heads came at greater intervals, perhaps only at the corners. They served as waterspouts for the rain. Rhangabé had already found fragments of the smaller head and a good specimen of the larger one<sup>2</sup>.

The study of these heads, when compared with similar representations on other well-known buildings with fixed dates, becomes very instructive. I should say that these heads hold the mean between the strongly conventionalised treatment in earlier types and the naturalistic types of the fourth century B.C. In fact, if we knew nothing of the date of the building to which they belonged, we should, from this comparative study alone have assigned it to the close of the fifth century B.C. Among numerous instances, the best types for comparison with them are those of the Parthenon<sup>3</sup>, of the older temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, of the Tholos of Epidauros<sup>4</sup> and of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus<sup>5</sup>. The lion's head from the Parthenon, though much softer and rounder in the modelling of the head itself (as we should expect in Attic art), is simpler in the treatment of the mane, and in the modelling of the lips. The mane of the Heraion lion has at least two different systems in the indication of texture in the hair, while in the Parthenon we have but one simple system of indicating the locks. The lips on the Argive head have *comparatively* a very realistic and careful treatment of the portions covering the teeth; while more detail is introduced into the face proper by the cross flaps of skin at the root of the nose and above the upper lip.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Washington considers these all of the finer grained marble of which the torso is made; "though the *sima* looks a little different from the rest and may come from Doliana in Arcadia as it looks somewhat like the marbles from Tegea."

<sup>2</sup> Brunn, *Denkm. griech. u. röm. Sculpt.* Pl. 82. B.

<sup>3</sup> Brunn, l. c.

<sup>4</sup> The work on the excavations of Epidauros by M. Kavvadias is now in the press.

<sup>5</sup> Newton, *Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae*, Plts. XXII. and XXX. The standing statues of lions (Brunn, *Denkm.* No. 72 and 73) I do not think so appropriate for this comparison as the heads of the *sima*.

The lions' heads from the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros stand in marked contrast to those from the *Tholos*; they are distinctly more conventional and stand on a par with those from the Heraion. The temple of Asklepios is certainly of fifth century date; while the *Tholos*, though associated with the name of Polykleitos, has been ascribed to the later namesake of Polykleitos, as living and working in the fourth century B.C. In the lions from the Mausoleum, and even more in those from the *Tholos*, the stricter conventionalism of such an architectural decoration has given way to a marked realism, in which the expression has been made fiercer, especially by the accentuation of the projecting masses of skin in the brow above the eyes and the drawing up of the skin below the eyes. So too several marked ridges have been introduced along the nose.

*Fragment of Sima.* Marble. Dimensions: length .565, height .22.

The same distinction between the work of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. is noticed when we compare the *Sima* from Argos with that of the *Tholos* of Epidauros.

The ornament upon the Argos *Sima* consists of two volutes joining, out of the junctions of which rises an anthemion in modified lotos pattern. The volutes end on either side in the honeysuckle pattern, below which one smaller curved line sweeps inwards and ends in a smaller volute beside the anthemion. Each smaller volute is surmounted by a bird. One would be glad to see in these birds the cuckoo closely associated with the worship of the Argive Hera; but this I do not venture to decide. Compared with this, the Epidaurean *Sima* is redundant and almost *barocco*. The ornament has been increased, a bolder curl has been given to the scroll pattern, and above all the delicate low relief has given way to much higher relief, throwing darker shadows, and accentuating, if not obtruding, the bold ornamentation. The delicate firm low relief of our *Sima*, slightly undercut, with the certainty of touch and sureness of hand which it manifests, can only be found again in the decorative work on the Erechtheum of Athens to which it bears the closest resemblance. Both are perhaps the best instances of the typical work of the Greek architectural sculpture showing all the grace, coupled with conscientiousness of workmanship and artistic moderation which we are wont to associate with the truly Hellenic spirit.

*Head of Amazon (?)*. Marble. Dimensions: height .20; breadth .094; from ear to middle of forehead .105. This head at first sight appears so expressive of sentiment, that we should hesitate to connect it with the other works which we assign to the Polykleitan school of the 5th century. But upon closer examination we see that the sentiment which it manifests is due rather to the attitude than to the signs of emotion in the head itself.

There is no doubt that it formed part of a high relief on the (our) right side, which is not fully visible in the plate, being near to the background; the hair is not elaborated, the ear not indicated. From its dimensions too, there can be no doubt that it formed part of a metope. The head drooped to the shoulder and no doubt belonged to a wounded warrior. The helmet is of a curious Phrygian shape, and it might possibly belong to a Trojan warrior, a type which often approaches the effeminate, but the head corresponds most to the types of Amazons which abound in Greek Art. If the head be that of an Amazon and if it belongs to the metopes of the temple, the Amazonomachia (and probably the Centauromachia) were represented on the north and south sides; while, as has been conjectured in the introduction, Pausanias only describes the sculptures of the east and west ends of the temple. There is a curious piece of drapery coming from under the helmet behind the hair, which must have given a foreign appearance to the warrior.

When we examine the face, in contradistinction to the attitude, we find that there is no marked attempt made at indicating pain or any other emotion. The lips are parted, and the whole treatment of the mouth corresponds accurately with the characteristic treatment we have already noticed in the head of Hera. The same remark (though this head is smaller in dimensions and less refined in workmanship) applies to the eyes, the brow and the oval of the face.

There can be little doubt that this head bears some relation to the well-known statues of Amazons which have been brought into connexion with the famous Ephesian Amazon of Polykleitos<sup>1</sup>. I have not been able at present to compare it with the numerous heads, some of them unpublished, which are scattered about European Museums. At present, it appears to me that it bears the closest resemblance to the Berlin and British Museum heads<sup>2</sup>. At all events this head will have, in the future, to be taken into account when dealing with the Polykleitan Amazons.

*Head with Helmet.* Marble. Dimensions, as before height .19, width .115, from ear to middle of forehead .095. The nose broken away. The eyes seem to show traces of the ancient application of colour. The dimensions are slightly larger than those of the previous head. So too the proportions of the face. The face is rounder and fuller. I do not venture to ascribe it to the metopes; though it certainly formed part of a work in high relief. Both heads were found on the north side of the second temple. As my notes on this head are insufficient, and as I cannot examine the original, I shall defer further description of it to a later date.

## PLATE VIII.

### *Terra-cotta Figurines.*

On this plate are given 27 terra-cotta idols about one-third the actual size. They are a selection made, while I was at the Heraion, from a vast number of similar works, the earliest and rudest forms being most frequent.

All these, with the exception of No. 8, were found in the excavations of the second temple, most of them in the black layer, referred to above. They therefore precede in date the second temple and belong to the period of the old temple. No. 8 was found in the lowest south-west terrace while digging round the foundations of the fine walls at the south-west end of the lower stoa.

I shall at once exclude No. 8 from the remarks on these idols, its character corresponds to the excellent workmanship of the walls beside which it was found, and which belong to the best early period of Greek art. The statuette of this female divinity (Hera, perhaps Hera Eileithyia) belongs to the *archaic Greek* period and approaches in time the statues found on the Acropolis. It differs in technique from the others, in that it is the only one of which we can say with certainty that it was pressed from a mould, whereas the others were probably hand made, each separately. They are all distinctly earlier than this archaic Greek type.

<sup>1</sup> Michaelis, in *Jahrbuch d. kais. deutsch. arch. Instituts*, Berlin, 1887, i. pp. 14 seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. III.; Collignon, *ibid.* p. 503.



Among these again we can distinguish at least three chronological types<sup>1</sup>. I do not mean by this that the production of many of the rudest forms may not have continued in later times; but they then still point to the *earlier* form which has survived. These three subdivisions are (1) the rudest, not yet human likeness; (2) the *βέρας* form, and (3) the distinctly *ἀνδριαντοειδές* form which has human likeness.

(1) The first are the rudest form, in which a long flat piece of soft clay has been squeezed in at different parts to suggest neck and waist; while at the top the clay has been pinched between two fingers, forming the nose. Generally, two small round atoms of clay have been affixed to either side of this beak or nose for the eyes, and then the whole has been baked. The face thus looks more like that of a bird than of a human being. To this series belong Nos. 23, 26, 21, 11, 4, 2. They correspond to the idols found by Schliemann at Mykenae, Tiryns, and to the figures found on jars at Hissarlik (Troy)<sup>2</sup>.

(2) The second or *βέρας* group is represented by No. 18; while a transition to the third group is made by Nos. 27, 15. No. 18, though still quite rude shows indications of a head with some pretensions to being human in form; there are traces of long hair on either side of the neck. This advance is still more marked in No. 27, where the folds of the drapery are actually modelled in the clay. No. 15, a seated idol, must have had a head far more approaching to human character than these, though probably not as far advanced as No. 14. No. 5 is an interesting small seated idol which brings us very near to the third class.

(3) To the third, or decidedly *ἀνδριαντοειδές*, class belong Nos. 24, 25, 9, 14, 22, 3, 6, 12, 20. No. 24 (delicately coloured) and 25 correspond to the early *βέρας* of Artemis dedicated by Nikandra<sup>3</sup> at Delos, which I at one time brought into relation with an historical Daidalos<sup>4</sup>; and to the marble Hera found at Samos, now in the Louvre<sup>5</sup> of which a replica has been found on the Acropolis at Athens. A steady advance in the treatment of the face will be noticed as we proceed from 9 to 14 and thence to 22, 3, 6 and 12, 3 and 12 reminding us of the early Cypriote and Rhodian workmanship. In 5 and 20 we have a marked advance in the seated figure as compared with 15, so bringing us to the period of the Berlin statuette<sup>6</sup> and the Branchidae figures from Miletus in the British Museum, where we reach the distinctly historical Greek period.

If now we examine the literary traditions concerning the early images of Hera at Argos<sup>7</sup> we may find that they bear directly upon the phenomena. It will be necessary to treat Argos and Samos together.

Hera no doubt, as most Greek gods, was at one time worshipped in a purely aniconic form. At Samos the earliest aniconic form was that of a simple board (*σπίς*)<sup>8</sup>; while at Argos there was a pillar (*κίον*) which the priestess Kallithoë was the first to decorate with

<sup>1</sup> The selection is, as I have said, a rough one. It may be possible, and if so will be most important and interesting, to select from the mass we have found a number of types which when subjected to careful comparative study, may manifest a series of distinct phases.

<sup>2</sup> We have also found cow-heads similar to those which Schliemann found; but these are more likely to have simulated offerings of cows, than to have been idols of the goddess.

<sup>3</sup> Homolle, *Bullet. de Corr. Hellén.* iii. p. 1. Mitchell, *Hist. of Anc. Sculpt.* p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> *Revue Archéol.* 1881, p. 321.

<sup>5</sup> P. Girard, *Bullet. de Corr. Hellén.* iv. p. 483 Pl. XIII. and XIV.; Mitchell, *ibid.* p. 200.

<sup>6</sup> Conze and Michaelis, *Annali dell' Inst. Rome*, 1861, p. 17, Pl. A. Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, Vol. ii. p. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. generally for the literature on this subject: Roscher, *Lex. der griech. und röm. Mythologie* 1890, i. 2, pp. 2107 seq.; Förster, *Ueber die ältesten Herabilder*, Programm, Breslau 1868; Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, Hera, Vol. ii. pp. 4 seq.

<sup>8</sup> Clem. Alex. *Protrep.* iv. p. 154.

ribands (στέμμασι καὶ θυσάνοισι)<sup>1</sup>. It is not impossible that we may have discovered this very pillar, which will appear in the next issue.

The oldest ἀγαλμα of the ἀνδριαντοειδές period was according to Pausanias<sup>2</sup> a seated image originally at Tiryns where it was fashioned and dedicated by Peirasos a son of Argos. It was transferred to the Heraion after the destruction of Tiryns by the Argives (Ol. 79, 3). It is possible that the seated idols on our plate, as well as works of the type of the statuette at Berlin may be reminiscences of this work, which was to be seen at the Heraion long after the destruction of the first temple. It was not very large (ἀγαλμα οὐ μέγα) and was carved out of the wood of a pear-tree. Whether among the works of Daidalos dedicated by the Argives<sup>3</sup> at the Heraion were ξόανα of Hera cannot be determined. Pausanias further mentions an early image of Hera upon a pillar (ἐπὶ κίονος Ἡρας ἀρχαίου). But we learn in an instructive manner of the existence of early images of Hera of this class from the traditions concerning the introduction of such ξόανα of Hera into Samos from Argos or the Argive countries.

I do not attach so much weight to the tradition of the introduction of the cultus and image of Hera into Samos from Argos by the Argonauts<sup>4</sup>; but the tradition reported by Clement of Alexandria<sup>5</sup>, seems to me to contain elements of more historical character and of considerable importance. He tells us that the aniconic σάνις was superseded by the iconic image, which he calls βέρας, by Prokles at which time it became ἀνδριαντοειδές. Prokles<sup>6</sup> was leader of the Ionian Epidaurians who settled in Samos after being expelled by Deiphontos, son of Pityreus, and the Argives. Thus the tradition existed at Samos that the human-shaped image was introduced during the Ionian migration, and the worship of Hera at Epidauros<sup>7</sup> was no doubt immediately dependent upon the Argive worship. We are thus justified in concluding that the ἀνδριαντοειδές image existed at Argos at least at the time of the Ionian and Dorian migration. The forms preceding this would then belong to a period preceding the Dorian migration. We might thus be justified in considering the type to which the idols of the first class belong to be prior to the Dorian migration. If I am right in these conclusions, it will readily be seen, that this may be a definite archaeological argument bearing upon the question of the date of many of the finds made here, as well as at Mykenae or Tiryns.

As to the purpose which these terra-cotta images served, there can hardly be a doubt that they were votive offerings to the goddess as Hera Teleia, presiding over marriage, married life, and child-birth. Hera is above all things the goddess of marriage (ζυγία, γαμοστόλος, πρύτανις τῶν γάμων)<sup>8</sup>. The centre of her cultus was the feast of the ἱερὸς γάμος, commemorating her wedding with Zeus. This feast was the counterpart of a real Greek wedding. The bride was wreathed with the γαμήλια στέφη<sup>9</sup>. At the Argive feast of Hera ἀνθεια<sup>10</sup> wreaths were brought to her; these wreaths were made of the flowers which grew on the banks of the river Asterion which flows by the Heraion and of which they bore the name<sup>11</sup>. Before the wedding, moreover, the bride made offerings to the

<sup>1</sup> Phoronis ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 24, § 151.

<sup>2</sup> II. 17. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, ix. 40. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias, vii. 4. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Log. Protrept. iv. 18, p. 184 (Migne). καὶ τὸ τῆς Σαμίας Ἡρας, ὡς φησὶν Ἡέθλιος, πρότερον μὲν ἦν σάνις, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπὶ Προκλέους ἀρχοντος ἀνδριαντοειδές ἐγένετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἀπεικονίζεσθαι τὰ ξόανα ἤρξατο, βρέτη.....

<sup>6</sup> Paus. vii. 4. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Thucyd. v. 75; Paus. ii. 29. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Creuzer, Symbolik &c., iii.<sup>2</sup> 118 seq., 211 seq.

<sup>9</sup> Bion i. 88; Poll. iii. 48. Even to-day wreaths are worn at weddings by brides.

<sup>10</sup> Paus. ii. 22. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Paus. ii. 17. 2.

goddess<sup>1</sup>; they sometimes dedicated their toys<sup>2</sup>. These images were such offerings, chiefly dedicated by those who had become brides, or hoped to become so, or by others to Hera Teleia and Antheia. And the wreaths which crown the heads are expressive of this. The ornament (of which there are varied specimens here) about the neck and from shoulder to shoulder, are I believe not only necklaces, but are also meant to represent flower-wreaths with a definite cult-meaning.

In consequence of her patronage of married life, she was also directly associated with child-birth, and thus corresponds to Iuno Lucina and as Hera *Εἰλείθυια*, she was also generally invoked to ward off women's diseases<sup>3</sup>. As in the Christian custom of churching, women repaired to her temple forty days after giving birth to a child (*τεσσαρακοσταῖον*)<sup>4</sup>, the period fixed in Greece to this day. No. 19 on our plate, the image of a pregnant woman, is no doubt an offering to Hera, before or after child-birth.

Nos. 1, 13, and 10, representing a rider on his horse, a pack-horse with its load, and a monkey, are probably toys dedicated to the goddess.

Selections from the bronzes, terra-cotta plaques, Egyptian objects, and further specimens of sculpture from the second temple, will appear in the issue of these plates.

<sup>1</sup> Jahn *ad Pers.* ii. 70 p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Roscher, *Lex. &c.* i. pp. 2088, 2090.

<sup>3</sup> *Anthol. Palat.* vi. 280.

<sup>4</sup> Censorin. *de die nat.* c. 11.

KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,  
Aug. 1, 1892.



SITE OF THE SECOND TEMPLE OF HERA BEFORE EXCAVATION.



THE SECOND TEMPLE DURING EXCAVATION.







THE SECOND TEMPLE AT THE CLOSE OF FIRST SEASON'S WORK.







THE SECOND TEMPLE VIEWED FROM SOUTH-EAST CORNER DURING EXCAVATION.





HEAD OF HERA.





HEAD OF HERA.





METOPÉ FROM SECOND TEMPLE.







ARCHITECTURAL DECORATIONS AND MARBLE HEADS FROM SECOND TEMPLE.





TERRA-COTTA FIGURINES FOUND BELOW THE FOUNDATIONS OF SECOND TEMPLE.

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